



Cornell University
ILR School

Cornell University ILR School
DigitalCommons@ILR

Justice

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
(ILGWU)

12-15-1964

Justice (Vol. 46, Iss. 24)

International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU)

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/justice>

Thank you for downloading an article from DigitalCommons@ILR.

Support this valuable resource today!

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) at DigitalCommons@ILR. It has been accepted for inclusion in Justice by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@ILR. For more information, please contact catherwood-dig@cornell.edu.

If you have a disability and are having trouble accessing information on this website or need materials in an alternate format, contact web-accessibility@cornell.edu for assistance.

Justice (Vol. 46, Iss. 24)

Keywords

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, ILGWU, labor unions, clothing workers, textile workers, garment workers, garment industry, New York, United States

Comments

Justice was the official publication of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union ILGWU from 1919 to 1995. Editions of *Justice* were published in English, Italian, Spanish, and Yiddish. When compared side by side, the content of some of these different editions of *Justice* shows significant differences. This is the English-language edition of *Justice*.

NAT'L PENSION FUND STARTS

Notification of Nominating and Election Meetings — ILGWU Elections, 1965. (Pages 8, 9)

JUSTICE

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Vol. XLVI, No. 24

Jersey City, N.J., December 15, 1964

Price 10 Cents

NEW YORK 17 N.Y. 010 200 5
GRAND CENTRAL STATION
P.O. BOX 2240
N.Y. PUBLIC LIBRARY

—Page 3

8,000 in Puerto Rico Bra Win Raises, First Retirement

—Pass JAN 5 1965

RECEIVED



THERE WERE ENOUGH GARMENT workers in the schoolroom on December 9 to make an ILGWU local union. The 6 women at the school's sewing machines were from Dressmakers' Local 22; the presser was from Local 60. Acting as foreman was a price adjuster, while the school's home sewing teacher did the draper's chores.

The school was the Margaret Knox Junior High School on East 100th St. in Manhattan's crowded East Harlem area. And the job, while it had no lot number and no size tickets, was to make 75 blue and gold satin drapes—each with an ILGWU union label—for the members of the school orchestra.

The musicians in that orchestra are boys and girls, most of them of Puerto Rican origin, many of them Negroes, ranging in age from 12 to 16 years. The girls play the stringed

instruments; the boys are expert on winds, brass and percussion.

BACK LAST JUNE, JUST BE-

Pictured above is scene in room 305 of Margaret Knox Junior High School 99 on December 9 when an ILGWU production task force worked on garments for members of the school's orchestra. Standing at left, clockwise, are Bernard Walker, acting principal; Vice Pres. Israel Breslow, Local 22 manager; Saby Nehama, local's director of Spanish activities; Frederick M. Maralian, assistant to principal; Claire S. Taffler, supervisor of home economics; Geneva Fox, head of parents associations and Frieda Schaeffer, non-English coordinator.

fore the summer vacation break, Local 22 Manager Israel Breslow received a phone call from a member

(Continued on Page 6)

In Humanity's Cause



ILGWU Vice Pres. Charles S. Zimmerman, right front, and other top trade unionists, in presentation ceremony of silver tray by AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schlichter to Boris Shkabin of the AFL-CIO Housing Committee in recognition of his many years of service to the cause of human freedom. Event took place at meeting of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee.

Bid Congress Repeal Anti-Union Shop Law

The issue of the compulsory open shop looms high on the legislative agenda of the 89th Congress which opens for business on January 4.

Specifically, organized labor is asking its friends in Congress to support repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. This is the section of the law under which the fed-

eral government surrenders its jurisdiction in the area of the union shop and permits states to pass "right-to-work" laws banning union-shop contracts.

Since the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, 20 states have enacted compulsory open-shop laws. Other states, in which popular referendums were held on the issue of "right-to-work" legislation, have witnessed overwhelming repudiation of the concept of such regulation by the voters in all but a few instances.

Repeal of Section 14(b) by Congress would wipe out open-shop legislation in the 20 states where it now exists and prevent it from spreading to other states.

Organized labor has been opposed to 14(b) since its enactment, but aside from the obvious restrictions which such state

legislation impose on the activities of organized labor, there are several good reasons why many civic, religious and even business groups are in favor of the section's repeal.

The economic question is an important one. The healthiest areas in the country are those in which trade union organization is widespread. Unions help to elevate purchasing power which, in turn, aids business. States which have "right-to-work" laws are those which, generally speaking, have the lowest per capita income.

The moral issue raised by the section involves a denial of a basic American right—freedom of contract. Even if an employer, as well as his employees, wants a union shop contract, it is prohibited under "right to work" laws.

Under the Wagner Act—the basic labor-management relations law—the union must bargain for and represent all the workers in the bargaining unit, whether they are members of the union or not. When a union obtains wage gains, improved sick benefits or other fringes, the non-union members in the bargaining unit receive the increases also.

The most simple aspect of this controversial issue, however, is the fact that the workers of this country want the security which only union shop contracts can provide for them.

WASHINGTON LETTER

Intra-Party Battle Rages On Right-Wing GOP Grab

By WILLARD SHELTON

WASHINGTON—The internal ferment of the Republican Party—a result of its election losses and the unhappiness of many party leaders with the trap in which they were snared by the nomination of Senator Barry Goldwater—has produced 3 results.

A caucus of all House Republicans will be held December 14 to discuss proposals to broaden the basis of GOP policy-making machinery in the House. And Republican governors—only 17 will be in office next January—convened in Denver to seek means of strengthening their own influence in national party councils.

The governors assembled under a rattle of counter-fire. Goldwater asserted that the national role of GOP state leaders is only secondary, with primary responsibility for national policy being centered in the congressional leadership.



That Goldwater is right—that the members elected under pressure of Goldwater elements of the national convention last July will sustain the chairman personally selected by the senator.

The governors, nevertheless, proceeded with their plans to set up a formal organization in the capital, to publicize their policy differences with the 1964 platform, and to seek increased influence in the party's national councils generally.

A meeting delayed until January 4 appeared to GOP moderates and liberals as foreclosing any policy on leadership changes. Rep. Gerald R. Ford Jr. of Michigan who was chosen conference chairman only 2 years ago in a limited internal revolt, agreed with them. Enough members insisted on an earlier meeting to force Halleck to yield.

How far the rebellion will go is the open question. Ford said the conference is to deal with the Republican response to proposed rules changes in the House, with GOP "organizational" matters and with a "strategy" in presenting GOP legislative programs in the new session.

The plight of the GOP, in any case, is serious. Those who are not primarily Goldwater partisans do not wish to enter the next elections with party machinery under Dean Burch's control. Thirty-five of the 58 governorships will be up in 1968, less of thousands of state and local offices, the attempted GOP congressional comeback from the 1964 disaster.

The conservatives kept into position of leadership are ready to fight to hold on. The stage is clearly set for protracted and bitter Republican civil war as the traditional GOP leaders struggle to undo the damage done when right wing elements were permitted to seize control.

Union Editors Focus On Rising Standards

Some 200 labor paper editors from across the nation attended the 3-day convention that started in Washington, D.C. on November 19 and focused continuously on ways to keep improving the standards of union journalism. The annual convention of the International Labor Press Association was presided over by its president, Justice Editor Leon Stein, with the aid of Kenneth Priester, ILPA secretary-treasurer.

In his keynote address, Stein reviewed the excellent performance of trade union papers in the recent election, with their emphasis on issues.

He hailed the rising professional status of the labor press, answering those who charge that labor papers are merely house organs by noting that the "house we serve is neither a department store nor a banking office—it is the greatest house of all, the house of labor."

Speakers before the biennial included Andrew J. Biemiller, director of legislation for the AFL-CIO, who analyzed the make-up of the new 88th Congress. Another highlight of the convention was the Journalists Awards banquet at which Stein introduced Secretary of Labor W.

Willard Wirts to make the award presentations.

Highest award for a publication of an international union went to Solidarity, the paper of the United Automobile Workers. Judges who selected some 2-second awards were 5 Nieman Fellows at Harvard University.

A special feature of this year's convention was the first A.J. Lebling Memorial Lecture in honor of the late New Yorker writer who was a sharp critic of the commercial press.

The lecturer was the noted political commentator, Samuel Label.

The convention also featured 4 workshops on readability. It voted to hold biennial conventions praised the work of Esther Petra (President Johnson's special assistant for consumer affairs) and elected her as member. Union News, the publication of Jewelry Workers Local 253 of New York,

Petra's Present: Job and \$300



Organizer Robert Jenkins presenting Petra Carrillo with \$300 check representing back pay.

THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD played Santa Claus to Petra Carrillo this year by giving her back her job and putting an extra \$300 in her Christmas stocking.

The job was one from which she had been illegally fired, the labor board found, and the \$300 represented back pay incurred during the unwarranted period of unemployment.

THE NATIONAL YARN CORP. HAD FIRED Petra as punishment for supporting the ILGWU during an organizing drive at the plant spearheaded by ILGWU organizer

Robert Jenkins, according to Sam Janis, director of the Ohio-Kentucky Region.

The union brought the case to the attention of the NLRB which reviewed the facts and brought down a decision that the company was guilty of an unfair labor practice in firing a worker for supporting a union, ordered Petra reinstated to her job, and the firm to pay her \$300 for the time she lost from her job.

The NLRB decision was especially welcome to Petra, the mother of 6 children, who had faced the prospect of a bleak holiday season.

Merger of 41 Retirement Funds Completed

ILGWU PENSION FUND STARTS



Front row, from left: Charley S. Zimmerman, Ellis Rosenthal, Louis Stulberg, Harry Uviller, David Dubinsky, Arthur Altmeyer, Nat Boriskin, Henoch Mendelsohn. Back row, from left: Emory Kinman, Eli Elias, Joseph Dubow, David Gindgold, Louis Rolnick, Harry Greenberg, Max Zuckerman, Lavton Shroyer, Shelley Appleton. Excluding Uviller, the fund's arbitrator; Altmeyer, the fund's chief appeal officer and Acland, administrator of the fund, the rest comprise the Executive Committee of the ILGWU National Retirement Fund.

Sixty labor and management leaders of the ladies' garment industry from all markets and regions in the United States, headed by ILGWU Pres. David Dubinsky and acting as a board of trustees, on December 17 formally approved the establishment of the ILGWU National Retirement Fund.

The unique fund, with reserves estimated at \$217 million, covers about 400,000 garment workers, virtually the entire U.S. membership of the union.

In opening the meeting of the trustees, Pres. Dubinsky declared that he considered the day one of the most important in his life and in the life of the union. He reviewed the history of the fund and detailed his long efforts to clear the way for merging them so they would be strengthened and would thus become more secure.

He also compared the new national fund to other union retirement funds. He pointed out that unlike the 3 major funds that came close to reuniting it, the new fund does not operate through a separate insurance set-up, is not combined with other benefits but is exclusively for retirement and has a board of trustees that is national in scope.

Named as officers of the national fund were David Dubinsky, chairman; Louis Stulberg,

treasurer; Nat Boriskin, vice chairman; and Ellis Rosenthal, secretary.

The trustees also approved the designation of the following officers:

—Presiding officer of the executive committee and arbitrator who may break deadlocks is Harry Uviller, the impartial chairman of the New York dress industry, who has been chairman of its retirement fund.

—Chief appeal officer will be Arthur J. Altmeyer, distinguished pioneer in shaping social security legislation, who was also Social Security Administrator and who is chairman of the cost and suit industry's retirement board.

—Administrator is Louis Rolnick, who has been the director of the ILGWU Welfare and Health Benefits Funds Department.

—Assistant administrator and counsel to the fund is Seymour Bernstein, who has served with the ILGWU Research Department. (Continued on Page 11)

8,000 in Puerto Rico Bra Win First Retirement Fund, Raises

Provision for establishment of employer-financed ILGWU Retirement fund coverage—the first to be won by any union in Puerto Rico—highlights terms of the new 3-year agreement reached last week with the Island's Corset and Brassiere Association, covering some 8,000 workers in that industry, members of Local 600.

With ILGWU General Secretary—Treasurer Louis Stulberg leading the union's negotiating team, Island ILGWUers, headed by Regional Director Jerry Schoen and Vice Pres. Alberto Sanchez, organizing director, emerged from the talks with a package of gains, effective February 1, which include, in addition to the retirement provision:

—A general wage increase of 6 percent;

—Benefits in the union minimum, starting with 7½ cents higher than the federal minimum and going to 10 cents above the federal floor in August 1966;

—Employers' contribution of an additional ½ percent (for a total of 4 percent) to the health and

welfare fund, to enable the union to explore the possibility of the added sum being used to finance the setting up of dispensaries in the Santurce, Maraguez and perhaps Ponce areas—to service the most concentrated locations of garment worker membership on the island, with those in other parts continuing to use facilities of the mobile health unit.

Establishment of the retirement fund will be made possible by employer contributions which, during the life of the pact, will reach the equivalent of 3 percent of payroll.

Terms Okayed

Carried over from the existing contract are such benefits as 6 guaranteed paid holidays, provisions for a second week's vacation.

(Continued on Page 11)



Shop chairladies ratify new agreement reached last month in Puerto Rico underwear and children's dress trade. At left: Jerry Schoen, Local 600-601 manager and Vice Pres. Alberto Sanchez.

ILGWU Wins Vote at Evans Manufacturing in N.C.

As Justice went to press, news was received that the ILGWU has scored a major triumph in its 5-year battle with the Evans Manufacturing Co., of Grifton, North Carolina. By a vote of 179 to 141, the workers at the Grifton plant chose the ILGWU over a company union in an NLRB representation election held December 16, according to Martin Morand, director of the Southeast Region. There were 9 votes for no union and 14 challenged ballots.

The Evans saga began in 1959 when the firm, which had been operating in Philadelphia, secretly opened the Grifton plant, thus violating an agreement to open a plant only if its Philadelphia shop was working full force and its new one was covered by an ILGWU contract.

Since then, the union has instituted a number of legal actions

to have Evans live up to its contractual obligations. It succeeded in having its position upheld by an impartial chairman. The impartial chairman presently is considering the ILGWU's claim for damages as a result of the company's breach of its Philadelphia agreement.

The union also was successful last year in having the NLRB position for and a U.S. District Court issue an injunction direct-

ing Evans to cease its unfair labor practices at its Grifton plant.

On August 5, 1964, the board made its own findings that the company had violated the law. The board found that the firm had flagrantly resisted to a barrage of illegal tactics shortly after the Grifton workers had petitioned the ILGWU to come to the plant and organize it in June 1963.

It helped set up a company

union, announced to its workers that certain employees would sign them up for membership in the company union, allowed company union members to spend much time during working hours organizing for their outfit, and signed a contract with the company union.

At the same time, it pentailed ILGWU supporters by firing their recognized leaders in the shop. Marie Manning Smith (who was reinstated with back pay as a result of the NLRB order), spying on ILGWU meetings, attempting to force workers to return their

ILGWU membership cards and threatening them with a variety of reprisals.

Spreading the union drive at Grifton was Morton Shapiro, North Carolina director, who was assisted by organizers Jesse Ridge, E.W. Hostetter, Clarence Loftin, Mason London and Bob Dehl, and a shop workers' committee including Marie Manning Smith, Brenda Gardner, Marsha Sullivan, Rosa Roa and Allen Strong.

Handling the case before the NLRB and in the courts has been ILGWU Assistant General Counsel Julius Topol.

N East Spears \$100,000 For Valley Forge Workers

The National Labor Relations Board ordered the Valley Forge Co. of Sinking Spring, Pennsylvania, which illegally closed its plant during a dispute, to bargain with the ILGWU if the plant is reopened, and to make good a lost \$100,000 in lost wages, reports Vice Pres. David Glasgow, Northeast Department director.

The decision resulted from charges of unfair labor practices filed by the union against the firm on April 2.

Approximately 72 employees of the plant are involved in the decision. However, 31 of them have been given employment in 1964 at other plants at Spring City, Baumtown, Robesonia and Womelsdorf, all in Pennsylvania.

The NLRB trial examiner recommended that the firm must bargain with the ILGWU should it reopen its plant in Sinking Spring. In the event the plant is not reopened, the firm must bargain with the union over the operation of the preferential hiring list and terms and conditions offered to former Sinking Spring workers at Valley Forge's other plants.

Organizing efforts have been under the direction of Reading District Manager Norman Elger and Pennsylvania Organizing Director Sol Hoffman, with organizer Genevieve Palacios sparking day-to-day activities at the shops.

Sinking Spring Rises



Workers at the Valley Forge Co., of Sinking Spring, Penna. get good news: back pay amounting to \$100,000 will be paid to them.

Junction City in Ark. Must End Coercing, Rehire Fired ILGer

The organizing drive at Junction City Manufacturing Co. in Arkansas has gained new impetus with an NLRB decision that the firm must reinstate and pay lost wages to Ophelia Davis, who had been discharged by the firm for her activities in behalf of the ILGWU, reports Vice Pres. Frederick R. Simms, Central States Region director.

In addition, the NLRB instructed the firm, which is an affiliate of Spartan Industries, the plant manufacturer and discount store chain, to post notices advising its employees that they will not be threatened with discharge, plant closing and cancellation of new plant construction if they select the ILGWU as their bargaining agent.

The firm will not be allowed to discharge or discriminate against employees who join and assist the union in its drive to organize the Junction City plant.

JUSTICE

Published semi-monthly by International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

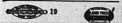
Office of Publication: 880 5th Ave., Jersey City, N.J. 07306

Editorial Office: 8710 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y. Tel. COLUMBIA 5-7000

DAVID DUBINSKY, President
LOUIS STULBERG,
Gen'l Sec'y-Treas.
LEON STEIN, Editor
MEYER MILLER, Mng. Editor

Subscription price paid in advance \$2.00 a year

Second-Class Postage Paid at Jersey City, N.J.



Vol. XVI, Dec. 15, 1964, No. 24

L.A. Dress, Sport Demands Detailed To Affect 2,000

Union demands for improvements to be included in a new collective agreement covering some 2,000 Los Angeles dress and sportswear workers were spelled out to employer spokesmen at the first negotiating session held December 4.

According to Vice Pres. Samuel Otto, the major gains sought by the union include a 10 percent wage increase; a 1 percent boost in payments toward a 2-week vacation for a total of 4 percent; raises in craft minimums and establishment of averages; an additional paid holiday.

Otto was joined by John Ulene, manager of the Dress and Sportswear Joint Board, in leading up the union's negotiating team.

The next party session was set for this week. The current pact is slated to expire at the end of this month.

Strike Sweeps Jogi Into Eastern Region

Some 60 workers have been added to ILGWU rolls via the strike route as a first-time agreement successfully concluded a 2 month-long campaign against Jogi Fashions of Newburgh, N.Y., reports Vice Pres. Edward Kramer, general manager of the Eastern Region.

The organization drive at the firm, which received its impetus when the contractor began working for a jobber who was a run-away from the Dress Joint Council, was headed up by members of Manager Mike Primack's Hudson Valley staff.

On September 15, the campaign, which had been following the classic routine of house visits and leafletting, suddenly evolved into a full-fledged strike over the dis-

criminatory discharge of a pre-union worker.

A number of sympathetic workers joined the picket line, and the campaign hardened into an economic war game—one which lasted for 2 months before the recalcitrant employer capitulated and agreed to union terms. In a matter of days the firm joined the Popular Price Dress Contractors' Association, thereby assuring coverage for the workers of standard dress industry benefits.

However, implementing the dress contract in the shop has been made difficult by virtue of the fact that the plant had been entirely a time-work operation.

A series of meetings to facilitate the changeover from time work to piece work has already begun for these newest members of Newburgh Local 156. At the first of these confabs, Jo Ann Foley was named shop chair.

Key roles in the organization campaign were played by Business Agents Hugh Harris, Jules Sippen and organizer Joseph D'Agostino.

The Texas AFL-CIO has set up a State Department of Equal Opportunity, believed to be the first established by a state labor body.

This issue has been delayed to allow for covering the establishment of the ILGWU National Retirement Fund.

Indicate Much Progress In Blouse Renewal Talks

"Substantial progress" is being made in negotiations for a new union contract covering some 4,000 members of New York Local 23-25 employed in the blouse industry, reports Vice Pres. Shelley Appleton, local manager.

He expressed confidence that agreement will be reached on major provisions of a new pact before the present one expires on December 31, subject, of course, to ratification by the workers.

Improvements sought include a wage increase, higher minimums, a second week's vacation pay, an improved holiday

clause and other changes.

The new contract, when it is concluded, is expected to set the pattern for negotiations covering some 7,000 blouse workers in the metropolitan area.

Pact for the new blouse terms have been under way since October 21.

Los Angeles Meets The President



Pres. David Dubinsky at last month's dinner meeting of ILGWU staffers in Los Angeles during stopover on way to Far East. Flanking him in rear of hall are, from left, John Ulene, manager of L.A. Dress and Sportswear Joint Board; Vice Pres. Samuel Otto, Pacific Coast director; Isidor Stenzor, manager of L.A. Cloak Joint Board; and Cornelius Wall, manager of San Francisco Joint Board. In his address, the ILGWU chief pinpointed numerous workers affecting the Los Angeles and San Francisco markets and expressed his appreciation to the Californian ILGers for their vigorous efforts in helping to smother huge Johnson-Humphrey victory for a clear liberal mandate.

Coat Pacting In W. Canada

Negotiations to renew contracts in Canada's western markets are now under way. Almost 2,000 coat, suit and sportswear workers in Winnipeg and Vancouver are involved.

Vice President Bernard Shane will lead negotiations in both centers in the absence of Frank Bagelle, western markets manager, who was stricken with a heart seizure during the recent Canadian Coordinating Conference in Toronto. Bagelle is now in hospital.

Contracts in Winnipeg and Vancouver expire December 31.

Happy Birthday, Everyone's Rights!

President Lyndon B. Johnson has proclaimed the week of December 10 to 17 as Human Rights Week, structured upon 2 highly significant days for Americans: Human Rights Day, December 10, and Bill of Rights Day, December 15. December 10 marked the 16th anniversary of the adoption by the United Nations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; December 15 is the 173rd anniversary of the first 10 amendments to the

U.S. Constitution, which are known as the Bill of Rights.

In his proclamation, President Johnson said:

"This country has survived and prospered mightily in the belief that all men are created equal, that all political power is inherent in the people and that no man or group of men should be entitled to exclusive privilege or preferment over others. We have worked hard and long, at home and abroad, that every man may enjoy his

right to security of person and property, to freedom of conscience and of press, and equal justice under law."

AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany, speaking for the American labor movement, observed: "Human Rights Day by issuing a statement which touched upon the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Pres. Meany said that, although passage of the Act was long overdue, equal rights and equal opportunity have been realized in large areas of this

country for years. The law was needed, Meany stressed, "not to correct a universal injustice, but to insure that justice henceforth will be universal."

"We in the labor movement," he said, "are proud of the part we played in bringing about this great legislative achievement. Now we are dedicated to making it truly meaningful through the creation of a full employment economy, an economy in which there are jobs at good wages for

all. Only in this way can human rights, equal rights, be translated from theory to practice."

"It is our hope that other nations around the world, which subscribe to the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights as it was eloquently proclaimed 16 years ago, will find inspiration in the progress the United States has made in the last year, and in the far greater progress which, we are confident, is now assured."

Japanese Hospitality



Pres. David Dubinsky exchanges warm greetings with leaders of the Zenzen Domei (Japan Federation of Textile Workers' Union) of its Tokyo headquarters during his visit last month to the Far East. Flanking him are Minoru Takita and Tadanobu Usami.

Vinyls Vote Victory To Spur Miami Push

A Miami plastic manufacturer's stubborn resistance to unionization was finally overcome last month when the workers at Industrial Vinyls Inc. voted overwhelmingly in favor of the ILGWU in a representation election conducted by the National Labor Relations Board, reports Robert Gladnick, manager of Miami Local 415.

In its frantic efforts to prevent unionization, the firm resorted to unfair labor practices which included unjustified layoffs. Even after the union succeeded in signing up a majority of the workers, the firm tried to block the election sought by the union. However, the NLRB rejected the firm's arguments and finally holding the election and ordered that it be held on November 25.

On the day of the balloting, all the workers turned out to cast their vote, tallying up a

a union victory. The workers, by their determined stand, showed the firm that they desired to work under union conditions and that they wanted the ILGWU to represent them in contract negotiations.

Spearheading the successful organizing drive was organizer Juan Lozano who was assisted by a shop workers' committee consisting of Orlis Martinez, Ocarro Iglesias, Eldorado Cuevas and Gilfredo Maguara.

According to Gladnick, the union has petitioned the NLRB

Ask Canada Top Court Rule On Jail for Anti-ILG Alepin

The case of a Montreal lingerie manufacturer who discharged ILGWU members for union activities has gone to the Supreme Court of Canada.

Union counsel J. J. Spector, Q.C., has asked the nation's top tribunal to maintain convictions obtained earlier against 2 Alepin Preses and Clement Alepin. The company had been fined \$200 and costs on 4 counts of illegal discharge while Alepin personally had been sentenced to 32 days in jail and a fine of \$100.

The complex legal proceedings began in 1961 when the Alepin firm and one of its executive officers fired 15 employees.

Q.C., has asked the nation's top

After a lengthy trial, judgment was rendered finding the company and one of its officers guilty in the case of only 4 employees. Subsequently, the ILGWU appealed the acquittal of the defendants in the case of the 12 other discharged workers and the company appealed the convictions with respect to

the 4 employees.

The Quebec Superior Court maintained the lower court's decision in both cases and Mr. Justice Roger Oudinet imposed a jail term on Clement Alepin and fines on Alepin and the company. The company and Alepin then appealed the convictions once more and the Quebec Court of Appeals quashed the earlier judgments.

The ILGWU has now asked the Supreme Court to overrule the findings of the Appeals Court and to reinstate the fines and jail sentence.

Acclaiming Calhoun Pact



At special membership meeting in St. Matthews, S.C., workers listen intently to report on terms in first-time contract with Calhoun Manufacturing. Contract received enthusiastic ratification.

for a representation election at another Miami plant. The triumph at Industrial Vinyls, he said, has provided new impetus to the union's campaign to organize the entire plastic industry in the Miami area.

Reach First Pact At Calhoun in S.C.

Following on the heels of a successful organizing drive, a first-time agreement has been reached with Calhoun Manufacturing Co. of St. Matthews, South Carolina, netting significant gains for some 100 workers, reports Martin J. Morand, director of the Southeast Region.

The ILGWU was recognized as bargaining agent by the firm after a card check on September 29 showed that the union had signed up an overwhelming majority of the workers.

Pact negotiations immediately ensued and culminated in the signing of the first-time agreement, which runs to May 31, 1967. The firm is owned by Modern Juniors, a division of Jonathan Logan.

Contract provisions call for an across-the-board wage increase of 5 1/2 percent for both piece workers and time workers, craft minimums (with

piece-rate settlement standard 28 cents above craft minimums), 6 paid holidays, and employer's contributions to the union's health and welfare, retirement and severance funds.

Spearheading the union's organizing campaign and negotiating team was Morand, who was assisted by Business Agent Lena Young and a shop workers' committee consisting of Max McKeehan, Betty Roder, Boyles, and JoAnne Buttlinger. Calhoun workers, at a shop meeting, unanimously ratified the terms of their first union agreement.

Upper South Vote Triumph Ends Classic Runaway Saga

When it involves the corraling of a runaway firm, the ILGWU never gives up, no matter how long it takes or how much effort is needed. Last month, after a 12-year hiatus, the union finally reaped the rewards of its perseverance when it proudly added the Classic Uniform Co. of Baltimore, Maryland, to its organizing scoreboard.

The longtime evader met its Waterloo on November 18 when the workers voted decisively in favor of the union in an NLRB representation election, reports Vice Pres. Angela Bambece, manager of

the Upper South Department.

The union triumph was the culmination of a hard-bitten well-coordinated and effective organizing drive by the department's organizing director Joel Goolet and staffers Jerry Breslaw and Jackson Moore.

The union organizers faced the customary anti-union

tactics of the employer with the use of anti-union threats—the benefits of ILGWU membership—and truth went out.

Pollowing the poll triumph, the workers elected a committee to join union staffers in negotiating a contract. They selected Inez Langley, Clara Davis, and Gertha (Jimmy) Griggs.

The nation's population is growing younger. The median age of the entire U.S. population is now 23.3 years as compared with 29.5 years in 1960.

h love... from ILGers

e Sewing Machine



Mrs. Mammie pressing a finished product. By a Staff Photographer

in St. dresses for charity that they will be run off which hurriedly, with less care than usual," Robbins them said. "The garments will have to pass inspection like everything else produced by garment these workers."



Grace Hill Home for distribution to needy children this assistant manager of St. Louis Joint Board, Lynette Harris, house the board, and Yetta Shulman, an assistant manager of joint welfare agencies and institutions in the St. Louis area.

THE PROJECT HAD ITS ORIGIN AT THE St. Louis Labor Industrial Show of May 1963 sponsored by the AFL-CIO. As Robbins described it:

"In our booth at the Industrial show, the union had a booth equipped with sewing machines at which some of our finest workers were making children's dresses. In the 5 days of the exhibition, we produced 100 dresses that we didn't know what to do with later.

"Dorothy Kauffman, promotion director for our union label, had a niece who attended St. Mary's Special School. Dorothy suggested that we give some of the dresses to the children at the school. At her insistence, I went with her to make the presentation and met Msgr. Elmer Behrmann, director of special education for the Catholic Diocese, Sister Dona, the school principal, and her assistant, Sister Lillian.

"They were delighted to accept the dresses, and urged that we return for the Christmas party at which the youngsters would be wearing their new clothes.

"I went back for the Christmas party, taking my wife with me. I also took along Joseph Morre, head of Jo-Mor Classics, and Jacob Nania, president of Bridal Originals. Morre is president of the Associated Garment Industries here, and Nania is vice president. They got as steamed up about the kids and this idea as I was. That's how the whole thing got started."

AT THE START, SEVERAL UNION CUTTERS from one of the shops cut the patterns for the dresses in 6 basic styles and sizes. The following week the cloth was marked for cutting. The spreading and cutting was done next. When the dresses were finished they were taken to a factory for hemstitching and pressing.

Variety was accomplished by the volunteer garment workers who competed with each other to make the prettiest dresses possible. They change the basic styles with lace trimming, rickrack, velvet, self trims and stitching in different colors. Many union members decided on trim and used it at their own expense. The dress materials include silks, seersucker, drip-dry cotton, gabardine, polished cotton, dotted Swiss, and linens. Colors include plaids, checks, prints, stripes and pastels.

During the entire period involved, the contributing employers bought lunch for all the volunteer workers who came to their shops on their day off.

Staff members of the St. Louis Joint Board, in addition to directing the union-management operation, worked nights and weekends on the project. These included Robbins, Yetta Shulman, joint board assistant manager, and Lucille Karvis, joint board president. Robbins, who worked on the project in his basement, said "it was relaxing work; I enjoyed it."

ONE DELEGATE FROM EACH OF THE 5 locals comprising the St. Louis Joint Board has been appointed to determine which institution and individuals will receive the dresses.

Our ultimate goal, Robbins said, is to provide every needy little girl in St. Louis with a new dress as a Christmas gift from the ILGWU.

The events leading up to the conception of "Operation Silky Chick" and the efforts of union members in making the project a successful community project has received wide coverage in the press. It has been the subject of extensive articles in the St. Louis Post Dispatch. It will be highlighted in an interview program over the NBC outlet in St. Louis, KSDI-TV, on December 31, starting at noon.

IN RACINE... TOYS

CHRISTMAS WILL BE A MUCH HAPPIER TIME this year for more than 300 mentally ill or retarded children in hospitals in Racine and Winnebago, Wisconsin, because of the efforts of 40 women of ILGWU Local 187 in Racine.

The women are making toys. Some of them come in 45 minutes early to their jobs at Rainfair, Inc., which has allowed them to use the shop's machines and facilities for the project, to sew patterns for teddy bears and elves.

The toys are in all colors. Some are logical, like bright-yellow ducks, and some are whimsical, like vermillion teddy bears. Every face is different. There's a yawning teddy bear and one with a crooked grin. In designing and making the toys, the ILGers strive to give the animals a warm, homemade touch but not a homemade look.

THE PROJECT, WHICH BEGAN 3 YEARS AGO when just a few women made several stuffed dolls, has developed into a large community activity, reports Vice Pres. Morris Bialis, director of the Midwest Region. It was inspired by Mrs. Richard Chitko, executive director of the Racine County Mental Health Association.

"Christmas is an awfully sad time for children to be in the hospital," Mrs. Chitko pointed out.

To make Christmas a little less sad, the mental health group sets itself a goal each year that every Racine County resident in a hospital at Christmas time gets a gift. The toys made and contributed by the members of Local 187 are sent to children in hospitals throughout the county, especially the mental hospital at Winnebago.

THE STUFFED ANIMALS, WHICH GET THEIR furry fuzz from men's topcoat lining donated by Rainfair, are the most colorful of the gifts made by the 40 women, but by no means all that they put their efforts into. There are also slippers, bean bags, hat and purse sets, and toy sewing kits with blunt-end scissors.

Work on the project started on October 1, and "we're just going to keep making them until December 15," said Ruth Peterson, top coat department steward at Rainfair.

"We eat our sandwiches with one hand and sew with the other," she said, referring to the time devoted to the toys during lunch hours. "Once you get started you don't want to stop."



During coffee breaks and lunchtime, garment workers are busy making toys as gifts for mentally ill and retarded children.

Notification of Nominating and Election Meetings — ILGWU Elections, 1965

(NOTE: Unless otherwise specified, nominations may be made orally at nomination meetings held at the usual time; are made according to the usual procedure in each local union; and election will occur all day.)

OFFICES OR POSITIONS TO BE FILLED																												
Loc.	Dist.	ILGWU COUNCIL	Members at Large	At-Large	Rep.	Chairman	Vice-Chairman	Time	Place	Rep.	At-Large	Chairman	Vice-Chairman	Time	Place	Rep.	At-Large	Chairman	Vice-Chairman	Time	Place	Rep.	At-Large	Chairman	Vice-Chairman	Time	Place	
19																												
21																												
22-25																												
26																												
27																												
28																												
29																												
30																												
31																												
32-35																												
36																												
37																												
38																												
39																												
40																												
41																												
42																												
43																												
44																												
45																												
46																												
47																												
48																												
49																												
50																												
51																												
52																												
53																												
54																												
55																												
56																												
57																												
58																												
59																												
60																												
61																												
62																												
63																												
64																												
65																												
66																												
67																												
68																												
69																												
70																												
71																												
72																												
73																												
74																												
75																												
76																												
77																												
78																												
79																												
80																												
81																												
82																												
83																												
84																												
85																												
86																												
87																												
88																												
89																												
90																												
91																												
92																												
93																												
94																												
95																												
96																												
97																												
98																												
99																												
100																												
101																												
102																												
103																												
104																												
105																												
106																												
107																												
108																												
109																												
110																												
111																												
112																												
113																												
114																												
115																												
116																												
117																												

[illegible]

IALC MEET FEATURES 4-FREEDOMS AWARD

The United-Italian American Labour Council will mark its 23rd anniversary at its annual conference on Saturday, December 19, at 10 A.M., in the West Ballroom of the Hotel Commodore in New York City.

The call for the conference, issued by First Vice Pres. Luigi Antonini, president of the council, and Vice Pres. E. Howard Molinari, council secretary, indicated that the agenda will include reports, resolutions and election of officers and members of the executive committee for the 1965 term.


The conference will be climaxed by a testimonial luncheon, at which this year's Four Freedoms Awards will be presented to Jacob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Speakers at the luncheon, which will be held in the Commodore's Grand Ballroom at 1 P.M., will include ILGWU Pres. David Dubinsky, who received the Four Freedoms Award in 1961; Mayor Robert F. Wagner; William Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO; Italian Ambassador Sergio Pininfarina and U.S. Senators Thomas Dodd, of Connecticut,

GREET THOMAS, HELD ON 80TH BIRTHDAYS

Two persons who have many decades to their credit of noteworthy contributions to labor and liberal causes recently celebrated their 30th birthdays.

They are Norman Thomas, the veteran Socialist leader, and Adolph Held, general manager of the Jewish Daily Forward who, until several years ago, was director of the ILOUW Welfare and Health Benefits Department.




Thomas

figures. Included were messages from Vice President-elect Hubert H. Humphrey and AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany, as well as one from ILGWU Pres. David Dubinsky, who said in part:

"Your dedication to a social order that would make every man rich in goods and rich in good will has been an inspiration to millions of Jewish and non-Jewish lifelines. May we join with the many others in wishing you well. We admire the personal integrity and selflessness which you have expressed through your life, words and work."

Dubinsky's message to Adolph Held recalled the latter's long period of activity for various labor and social causes, and especially his "outstanding contributions to the work of the Jewish Labor



Held



Two Former Teachers, a Garment Cutter...and the White House

"AT ABOUT 12 P.M. ON THE NIGHT of Monday, Dec. 7, history brought 3 former school teachers and an ex-garment cutter together in the corridor just outside the State Dining Room of the White House."

These. The erstwhile teachers now are powerful heads of state and the garment worker is symbolic of the strongest wave in their fabric of power."

With the above paragraph, the noted labor writer, Victor Riesel, in his syndicated column which appeared in the New York Journal American and other papers on December 18, begins to spin a vignette which, he feels, reveals "truly the motif of the future."

The 3 men referred to were President Lyndon B. Johnson, Great Britain's Prime Minister Harold Wilson, and ILGWU Pres. David Dubinsky.

THE OCCASION WAS A WHITE House dinner in honor of Prime Minister Wilson, who was in this country at the time for a battery of meetings and talks

with President Johnson and members of his cabinet. Pres. Dubinsky was labor's representative at the informal dinner.

According to Riesel, after dinner the 3 heads of state were intensely strolling about the halls of the White House when they encountered Dubinsky, who had just finished a conversation with another dinner guest, a British atomic scientist.

The President spotted him and made a great point of bringing him together with the British Laborite Prime Minister. The 3 men agreed a joke, but the nature of their meeting was symbolic of the most serious issues of our day.

"No 3 men could be more different nor come from more disparate parts," Riesel writes. "But no 3 men could have more in common than the rugged captain from Cheshire, the rider of horses from Johnson City, and the traffic-dodging bicyclist from Lodz, Poland, who had run his first skirts at 15 (against his father's bakery)."

The similarity, Riesel points out, lies

in the political, philosophical and sociological viewpoints of the 3 men. In varying degrees their goals are the same. Their common strength is that of the organized labor movement.

THE 3 MEN CAME TO THIS strength in different ways, Riesel says: Dubinsky being born to it, Wilson having achieved it and the President having had it thrust upon him, but the present reality is that in fact they do now share it. Dubinsky, who is an intimate of the President, will know that his presence at this dinner was called for by much more than friendship, Riesel commented. "He is the symbol of labor's influence growing far afield from the shop and the picket line."

"He is the symbol of labor's movement onto the diplomatic field, where the impact is beginning to leave its design as it has on the industrial field," Riesel adds.

THE MONDAY NIGHT DINNER AT

the White House was the second time in a month that Pres. Dubinsky had met with a powerful head of state.

On November 12, he and George Messersmith, AFL-CIO president, along with James S. B. Jones, Chief of the Union president and George Harrison, chief executive of the Railway Cattle, visited with Prime Minister Etsuko Sato of Japan in Tokyo.

Those 4 were the first labor leaders of any country to be received by a Japanese head of state. The meeting was no mere formality, but rather a serious conference which ranged from international issues to labor matters which were of consequence to both nations.

"Whether they are in the parliament or cabinets, their labor strength gives them strong voices in the councils which make international as well as national policy," Riesel concludes.

"This is what was symbolized by the 3 men early walking down the corridors of the White House and of history."

Sadie Reisch Spans Labor's Historic Half-Century N'East Swings Jemmy Onto Union Rolls



For retiring Sadie Reisch, standing second from left in this 1937 photo, a highlight of her many years of dedicated service to the labor movement was her association with, seated left to right, May Dreier, then vice president of National Women's Trade Union League; Leland Scott, president of New Jersey WTUL; Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt; standing from left: U.S. Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins; Rose Schneiderman, pres. of WTUL; G. W. Rouse, of N.J. Labor Department.

Half a century of distinguished service by Sadie Reisch to the ILGWU and the labor movement was climaxed recently with a gala retirement fête tendered to the manager of Eastern Region Locals 229-231.

The testimonial dinner, held at the Roosevelt Hotel in New York City, was attended by local chairladies and executive board members, and her friends and fellow trade unionists from New York and New Jersey.

Principal speakers included

ILGWU General Secretary-Treasurer Louis Stulberg and Vincent Murphy, president of the New Jersey State AFL-CIO. The toastmaster was Vice Pres. Edward Kramer, Eastern Region general manager.

Sadie Reisch's trade union career began during World War I, when she had just passed her 16th birthday, as a member of Dressmakers' Local 22. Before long she began her climb up from the ranks, initially as a shop chairlady, and executive board member, later as a business agent for the

Dress Joint Board.

Her crusading spirit served her in good stead during New Deal days, when her assignment took her to New Jersey, where she was instrumental in organizing the non-union plants of the children's dress industry. Her zeal carried over to late years, when she became the first and only manager for the local unions servicing that industry.

Among community causes, Sadie Reisch was active in the Consumers League, League of

Jemmy Sportswear, a blouse contractor employing some 50 workers, has been enrolled into the ranks of unionized firms in the New Bedford District of Massachusetts, reports Vice Pres. David Gindgold, director of the Northeast Department.

Under the terms of the union agreement, which will run until March 1947, time workers will obtain a wage increase totaling 12 percent and piece workers 9 percent during the life of the pact, with both categories also receiving substantially higher minimums.

The employer also agreed to a 35-hour week and standard health, welfare, retirement and severance benefits.

Heading up organizing efforts which added Jemmy to ILGWU rosters were District Manager Arnold Dubin; John P. Albano, New England organizing director; Business Agent Nicholas Roussos; and a committee of shop workers.

At a shop meeting, workers heard and discussed details of the contract and elected the following: Dorothy Correia, chairlady; Florence England, secretary; Laura Rodriguez, activities director.

Women Shoppers, The N.J. Apparel Wage & Hour Committee, the advisory board of Camp Fire Girls, and the Women's Trade Union League. During World War II, she co-edited Civilian Defense and Red Cross activities for the area ILGWU.

It was with service as a vice president of the New Jersey State AFL-CIO that Sadie Reisch made her substantial contributions to political and community action, and she

Garment Exhibition At Queens Library

The Queens Borough Public Library will display an exhibit entitled "The Garment Industry" for 3 weeks, beginning Monday, January 4 and running through Saturday, January 16.

The exhibit, which will chronicle the history of the garment industry in New York City, is comprised of some of the actual tools of the industry—sewing machines, scissors, etc.—as well as pictures and pamphlets, many of which were originally published in Justice.

There will also be posters chronicling brief histories of the various needle trades, the Triangle Fire, the ILGWU, personalities and the Seventh Avenue garment district.

served in that capacity until her retirement.

In keeping with her role as a leader of the New Jersey Committee for Histadrut, her plans immediately following retirement include a trip to Israel.

For Sadie Reisch, retirement is not synonymous with inactivity; she plans to extend her years of service with volunteer work among charitable and children's groups.

Arabs, Africans, Asians—All Flock to the ILG Hospital in Beersheba

Pauline M. Newman, education director of the Union Health Center, recently returned from a memorable visit to Israel, where Histadrut, the nation's trade union movement, acted as host for a tour of their period health and other services. A particularly helpful was a young woman named Malka (Hebrew for Queen), who arranged for Pauline to meet persons at the top echelon of Histadrut leadership, as well as David Ginzburg of the foreign and public relations department who was her guide while visiting clinics and hospitals of the labor organization's health services.

Pauline found, to her delight, that over 75 percent of the working people of Israel are enrolled in Kapat Holim, or

health service system. Families are included, and health care covers home service as well as clinical treatment and hospitalization. There are no less than 1,000 labor-run clinics in Israel.

One of the problems which confronts union health services in the United States, that of the high cost of drugs, has been solved in Kapat Holim by manufacturing their own drugs, Pauline learned. They also manufacture their orthopedic needs—such as arches, braces, and artificial limbs.

Undoubtedly, the health service unit which Pauline was most anxious to visit was the modern hospital in Beersheba, which was financed by ILGWU contributions and serves the medical needs of all the people of Beersheba and

the Negev desert area. Pauline met with many of these people while she visited the hospital—Africans, Indians, Moroccans, Syrians and Arabs as well as Israelis. All of them spoke with warmth and gratitude of the humanitarian efforts of the ILGWU.

While in Beersheba, Pauline was invited to speak at a dedication of a Labor and Management College built by the Histadrut and partially financed by the ILGWU. In addition to the representatives of Histadrut present at the dedication, there was also the Mayor of Beersheba, members of the municipal council and Herta and Pauline spoke in English (everyone else spoke in Hebrew) she was unselfish

and very hospitably received.

In Haifa, the following week, Pauline visited the Antonine House, named for first Vice Pres. Laïla Antonine, a longtime friend and supporter of Israel.

Continuing on her journey, which must have begun to feel like a trip through the ILGWU hall of fame, Pauline arrived in Tel-Aviv where she visited the Edoles Nager Youth Center built in honor of the late Edoles Nager, a veteran ILGWU cloakmaker leader.

Pauline found the Youth Center brimming with activity, and was pleased to see many young people doing useful things. All of them said to her as she left a place where they can learn to develop their talents.

JUSTICE

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

EDITORIAL

AGE



FROM RAGS TO RICHES

AT NOON, ON DECEMBER 17TH, 59 men and a woman sat down to lunch in a meeting room of a New York hotel. Thirty of them were garment industry employers representing producers in all markets and regions of the industry in the United States. The other 30 were their ILGWU counterparts.

Many had confronted each other across tables before. That was at times when they had met to bargain and to battle over terms of union agreements. Such contests are often bitter because in the garment industry—whether you are boss or worker—every penny counts.

On December 17th, battling was not on the agenda. There was only one item on the order of business: how best to administer the \$217 million ILGWU National Retirement Fund being formally established that day.

It was, as Pres. Dubinsky remarked, a day of great importance in his life and in the life of the ILGWU.

Five years earlier he had started a move to merge the many ILGWU retirement funds into one national fund. There were many obstacles. The funds varied in size. Each had its own history, its own rules and procedures. More than 40 funds eligible to merge had developed their own character in terms of the specific industry, market and labor force each covered.

In addition, there has been no previous experience in the labor movement with such a fund. Those that come closest to resembling the new ILGWU National Retirement Fund still differ from it in important respects.

No other national labor fund provides retirement benefits exclusively; no other avoids a separate insurance carrier; no other has a large, national-in-scope board of trustees. Only the ILGWU National Retirement Fund is specifically limited to retirement, has its own funds and has a large, representative board of trustees.

THE NEW, NATIONAL FUND starts life with high praise. Even before the merger of the separate funds could be started, the idea of a single, pooled retirement fund in the garment industry had to pass a stringent, governmental test.

Would the new fund be permanent? Would its investments be sound? Its trustees responsible? Its terms equitable? Would the rights of the workers be safeguarded and means for appeal provided? Would those rights be continuous in an industry in which the mobility of firms and workers is high?

The decision last June by the U.S. Internal Revenue Service to continue for the national fund the tax exemption previously extended to employer contributions to the smaller, individual funds means only one thing: The ILGWU National Retirement Fund meets the highest standards that government itself can set for such a fund.

THE IMMEDIATE BENEFITS of pooling the funds will be increased financial stability and operational efficiency, as well as the end of difficulties involving workers who move about in their employment. Furthermore, with the fund being watched continuously by a professional actuary, its ability to provide will be readily translated into benefit rates—by which alone many workers in the shop are likely to measure the significance of a merged fund.

Yet, for them and for the community at large, there is a meaning in this rather complicated and technical change in the structure of the ILGWU retirement system that transcends the legal language by which it was formally accomplished on December 17th.

The men and women from both sides of the bargaining table who sat down together on December 17th shared a common pride. It was pride in the fact that out of an industry that some disdainfully dub "the rag business," that had its origins in the slums and the sweatshops, that knows the most intensive kind of competition, that embraces workers of every origin spread across a continent, have come pioneer accomplishments in cooperation and responsibility in the field of human welfare that are of the riches of the spirit.

Memo to the President

Excerpts from a statement addressed to the President of the United States by the Public Affairs Committee of Freedom House.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

Probably no one in the world receives as much gratuitous advice as you do. If we at Freedom House venture to submit our own recommendation it is because we feel it is as important for the people to express their views to the President as for the President to explain his views to the people.

The 1964 election has revealed a great consensus of the American people—at least on broad approaches to the nation's goals. The overwhelming repudiation of extremism in favor of moderation in public policy made clear by this consensus is indeed heartening. Unfortunately the conditions under which the campaign was waged tended to blur the underlying issue, rather than encourage their delineation and analysis.



Now, as the confusion and excitement of the contest fade away, it is the responsibility of both President and people to address themselves to the difficult problems that must be faced today.

THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE COURSE of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union is belogged by the recent dramatic change in Russian leadership. We wish, however, to bring one point strongly to your attention. History has shown that drastic shifts in USSR leadership are followed by considerable periods of further change and readjustment within the Soviet power structure. In such periods Russia necessarily seeks a relaxation of international pressures.

We urge that in the months ahead Russian attempts to obtain such relaxation be clearly recognized for what they are, not mistaken for decreased Soviet hostility toward the Free World. The United States should act, as always, for such positive evidence of a Russian desire for a long-term detente as the cessation of acts hostile to the Free World and a lightening of the totalitarian pressures on the peoples trapped behind the Iron Curtain.

Further, we should make use of the opportunity offered by this period of Soviet uncertainty to press upon the Kremlin our own agenda for positive action to remove the causes of the Cold War.

IN RECENT MONTHS THERE HAVE been encouraging indications that the Communist satellites are increasingly unwilling to be puppets of the USSR. So far there has been little indication of any accompanying relaxation of the domestic tyrannies that rule these states. It is vitally important that the United States be ready, should mingled despair and hope drive the citizens of the satellite nations to defy their masters once again.

Devising an American response that would assist the aspirations of these peoples without plunging the world into a war that would crush everyone's hope of freedom is no simple task. Twice before, in 1953 and 1956, this country has faced such situations utterly unprepared. A third such failure would be a devastating blow to the effectiveness of American leadership in the Free World.

THE PRESENT DISARRAY AMONG the leading free nations in their pay toward extending long-term credits to Communist countries can only weaken the unity of the West. In recent months American foreign policy has tended to drift in this manner. We urge that the United States continue to press upon its allies the desirability of a common policy limiting the terms of such credits to those appropriate to ordinary commercial transactions. Negotiations for more generous trade terms should be tied to concrete results from our attempts to induce the Russians to remove the causes of East-West tensions.

The world must see the threat of nuclear war under the firmest controls, but the United States must not be pushed from within to scrap its weapons prematurely. Bad as the present "balance of terror" is, it is preferable to an "imbalance of terror" which invites adversaries to new adventures against us. Disarmament is an ideal goal not an action that we can take unilaterally.

And finally, I have supported proposals for the establishment of a federal Department of Urban Affairs.

These 3 proposals for congressional action differ in many respects, but all have one feature in common: they seek to establish the foundations for a viable metropolitan community.

By EDMUND S. MUSKIE

REVOLUTION ON THE URBAN FRONTIER

From recent address by the Democratic Senator from Maine.

BY THE YEAR 2000, 85 PERCENT OF OUR population will live in urban areas, experts tell us. There are the physical problems: We face water shortages, transportation snarls, urban blight, and wasteful land use.

There are the social problems: We face increased juvenile delinquency, rising crime rates, and uneasy race relations.

There are the political problems: We face shifting metropolitan boundaries, fragmented local government, and conflict between the central city and the suburbs.

There are the financial problems: We face limited revenue resources and almost limitless expenditure needs; soaring tax rates in the sub-

urbs and falling tax bases in the cities. State and local debts are mounting, while state and local revenue sources fall behind.

Metropolitan areas currently require annually: \$600 million for sewage treatment facilities; \$400 million for pure water; \$200 million to rebuild each square mile of slums; and \$1½ million so commuter railroads can stay in business.

THE NATIONAL CHARACTER OF MANY metropolitan questions makes federal participation necessary. Several existing federal programs have already had a significant impact on our metropolitan areas. In addition, 3 current proposals could make a substantial contribution to orderly urban growth and development.

First, S. 649, which I introduced in the first

session of the (86th) Congress, would provide that grants for construction of municipal sewage treatment works may be increased by 10 percent for a project that is part of a comprehensive regional plan.

Second, a bill which passed the Senate unanimously last January would require establishment of a legally constituted metropolitan agency, charged with the responsibility for areawide planning.

And finally, I have supported proposals for the establishment of a federal Department of Urban Affairs.

These 3 proposals for congressional action differ in many respects, but all have one feature in common: they seek to establish the foundations for a viable metropolitan community.